



THE KEYNOTER



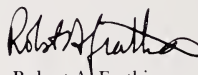
Authorized and paid for by McCarthy for President,
Ted Finman, Treas., 119 E. Millin St., Madison, Wis.

THE SUMMER OF OUR DISCONTENT
AN INTERVIEW WITH EUGENE McCARTHY
ALSO: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM • CLAUDE PEPPER

Managing Editor's Message

After three promises and a long delay, the McCarthy interview has arrived. Before I put the layout together for this issue, what I remembered about 1968 was that I hadn't been very impressed by Gene McCarthy then — or since — and didn't really remember much about his items except that most of them had a blue/black ribbon and all looked the same. Even though I like the interview, I really didn't think the graphics would be interesting. But, to my surprise, there really was a wide diversity of material reflective of the times, sayings and issues of 1968, which was supplied by McCarthy collectors, and much of which appears in this issue.

This entire issue involves candidates without a widespread collector base. Sometimes it just comes up that way. So, if this issue does not become one of your favorites, I'll understand, but think of the people this issue will make happy who don't compete with you for all those great items that make you ecstatic.



Robert A. Fratkin
Managing Editor



NEWS

APIC President Geary Vlk announced that the Officers and Directors have approved the following appointments:

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Covers: *Front:* Paper Sticker, 7" blue/white; *Back:* Paper Flyer, black/ white.

Illustrations: The Keynoter thanks the following for providing the illustrations appearing in this issue: Michael Dunham, Kenneth Florey, Michael Kelly, Ronnie Lapinsky, Marshall Levin, Richard Rector, Joseph Witek.

APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

As you have probably figured out by now, we don't always come back immediately with what we promised in this box. So, in the spirit of truth in advertising, let's just say that 1990 will bring features on Nelson Rockefeller, early ribbons and ceramics, the original Cassius Clay, Indiana's favorite sons, the Falcon Dam dedication, America in the Phillipines, John Logan, William McKinley, lots of sheet music, postcards and interesting paper items, and some surprises along the way.

The Summer of Our Discontent

AN APIC INTERVIEW WITH EUGENE McCARTHY

Interview By Michael Kelly

Even among the colorful cast of characters on the political stage of 1968, Eugene McCarthy stands out as a rare figure. One of the few political figures of our age who could genuinely be considered an intellectual, he is the author of over 15 books of politics, history and poetry. In 1968 McCarthy took flight on what promised to be a futile voyage of principled abstraction; yet before it was done he had unseated a president and given focus to a generation. A soft-spoken man of calm reason, restrained rhetoric and gentle humor, his campaign spawned a national convention unrivaled in American history for conflict and even violence. After running a presidential campaign that exceeded all expectations and offered him the basis for serious political power, he moved into a series of ever-finer intellectual considerations that took him to being an almost-frivolous minor party candidate.

Eugene McCarthy is a unique personality in American history.

Born March 29, 1916 in the tiny farming village of Watkins, Minnesota (population: 760), McCarthy was soon recognized as an individual of intellectual stature. Residents recalled him as "the smartest young man in the county" and told of his reading the 50 volume set of Harvard Classics in a single summer. In 1935 he graduated *summa cum laude* from St. John's University after three years, earning the most brilliant academic record ever attained by a St. John's student (a record that still stands more than 50 years later). After earning a Master's degree from the University of Minnesota, McCarthy returned to St. John's as a professor of economics.

During World War II McCarthy served with the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, working to break Japanese codes. After the war he became a professor at St. Thomas College in St. Paul where he was drawn into local politics and became county chairman of the newly-merged Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL). In 1948 he ran for Congress in a district that had only once elected a Democrat (and that for only one term). Narrowly defeating a well-financed labor candidate in the DFL primary, McCarthy went on to win the seat by 25,000 votes. In Congress he soon was recognized as an articulate voice for liberal thought. He took a great political risk in 1952 by debating Wisconsin Senator Joe McCarthy, at the height of his power, over nationwide radio. As the Fifties progressed, McCarthy organized a group of Liberal House Democrats (dubbed "McCarthy's Mavericks" or "McCarthy's Marauders" by the press) that pushed for progressive legislation and reforms. The group issued a statement of principles (known as the "McCarthy Manifesto") and eventually became the Democratic Study

Group, which remains an influential force in the House to this day.

In 1958, after all the state's DFL luminaries had declined to take on two-term Republican Senator Edward Thye, Congressman McCarthy decided to make the race for the Senate. "The House is not a home," he told a friend, "I will either go to the Senate or back to teaching." Upsetting all predictions, McCarthy defeated Thye by almost 100,000 votes.

At the 1960 Democratic convention McCarthy thrilled delegates and a watching nation with a speech nominating Adlai Stevenson for president that author Norman Mailer called "the best nominating speech I ever heard."

President Lyndon Johnson listed McCarthy as a potential vice president at the 1964 Democratic convention but McCarthy's political instincts were sharp enough to realize that his Minnesota Senate colleague Hubert Humphrey would be chosen, so he withdrew as a VP candidate before the decision was made, spoiling Johnson's plan to tantalize the nation with his final pick between the two Minnesotans.

As Johnson's administration was drawn more deeply into the Vietnam war, Senator McCarthy became convinced that the war was being mishandled and on November 30, 1967, political observers were amazed to hear Eugene McCarthy announce he would challenge President Johnson for their party's nomination. Written off as a hopeless gesture by the media and most observers, the McCarthy campaign went into New Hampshire without money or organization but with a great deal of hope and thousands of highly motivated college students that came to be known as the "children's crusade." It was stunning news when the votes were counted and McCarthy had won the New Hampshire delegates and defeated President Johnson. As the news of the upset reached Washington, Senator Robert Kennedy revealed another surprise; despite earlier refusals to challenge Johnson, Kennedy had now decided to enter the race. McCarthy headed on toward a strong victory over Johnson in Wisconsin and President Johnson threw in one more unexpected development — he withdrew from the race. McCarthy won a series of primaries after New Hampshire — Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts — and finally clashed with RFK in Indiana where the results were complicated by the entry of Indiana Gov. Roger Brannigan as a "favorite son." The three candidates split the vote almost evenly but RFK came in first. McCarthy then met Kennedy head-on in Oregon and dealt him the first electoral defeat ever experienced by a Kennedy. The two Irishmen battled through California where Kennedy

squeaked past his rival only to fall victim to an assassin's bullet as he walked off the stage at his victory party. McCarthy went on to win primaries in New Jersey, Illinois and New York but the nomination went to a man who hadn't entered a single primary; his fellow Minnesotan Vice President Hubert Humphrey, who ran as a defender of the administration's war policy.

The 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago was memorable as demonstrators fought pitched battles with police in the streets while party bosses used heavy handed tactics to crush anti-Vietnam delegates inside an angry and boisterous convention hall.

After 1968, McCarthy had burnt too many bridges in his own party to carry on his political career as before. He left the Senate in 1970 and ran a brief, almost puckish, campaign for the Democratic nomination in 1972, making an effort only in the Illinois primary and withdrawing early. 1976 saw another McCarthy-for-President campaign, abandoning the Democratic Party to run as an Independent. McCarthy's 1976 effort was aimed at challenging the new federal election law, an issue that did not strike a popular response, and his status as an independent required him to spend most of his campaign in court fighting to be listed on the ballot. McCarthy led the minor party vote easily, winning 756,117 votes as compared to 172,753 for the next closest Libertarians, but failed to achieve much popular impact.

Many observers were caught by surprise to learn that Eugene McCarthy was again a candidate for president in 1988, which led Michael Kelly to interview him for *The*

Keynoter during a campaign visit to Michigan's Hillsdale College.

APIC: Back in 1947 you were chairman of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party in St. Paul a few years after the Democratic Party merged with the Farmer Labor Party...

McCARTHY: Yeh, they merged in '44, before I went into St. Paul to teach at St. Thomas.

APIC: Were there still factions in the party in 1947?

McCARTHY: Well, I wasn't involved in the merger and I don't think it was as bad in St. Paul as other places. In '47 we had to take the party away from the old Trotskyites and so on but by '48 it was pretty well put together. They had won one congressional district in '46 which encouraged them to think that the merger was a good idea. We hadn't been winning those before.

APIC: Were the Republicans dominant in Minnesota before that?

McCARTHY: Actually the Farmer-Laborites would win some but the Republicans were pretty much winning because the Democrats and Farmer-Laborites would split the vote. After the fusion, by '46 they'd won one congressional district. That was the breakthrough on the Iron Range and then by '48 it was well put together.

APIC: If the parties hadn't merged, would you have been a Democrat or a Farmer-Laborite?

McCARTHY: I grew up out in the country where there really weren't many Democrats and the liberal movement out there was Farmer-Laborite. I probably would have been a Farmer-Laborite in the old Progressive, Non-Partisan League, Populist sense. Of course, when people



**Mc CARTHY
BLATNIK
FREEMAN**

AROMA COUNTY FOR
Mc CARTHY
IN 1964



**I AM FOR
McCARTHY
FOR
CONGRESS**



★
**McCARTHY
FOR
CONGRESS**

**FOR A STRONG
McCarthy
U.S. SENATOR**

talk about "populist" they don't know what it means but we did know in Minnesota because we had fellows like Ignatius Donnelly and so on who were really the philosophers of the movement. I probably would have been a Farmer-Laborite.

APIC: What was your relationship with Hubert Humphrey at that point?

McCARTHY: I was teaching at St. Thomas and was sort of brought in to the effort to get control of the party away from the old Trotskyites and Socialists that were still holding on; some of the garment workers and electrical workers. We usually had a Minnesotan running on either the Socialist Workers or Socialist Labor ticket then. I think I first met Humphrey when he was organizing the A.D.A. I went to a few meetings over in Minneapolis and then in '47 the movement to take over the party got under way. It sort of fell to me to organize St. Paul because the person who was most active was a faculty member at St. Thomas who went off to teach at Notre Dame and sort of abandoned the cause.

APIC: Was that Marshall Smelzer?

McCARTHY: Smelzer, yeh.

APIC: I studied under him at Notre Dame.

McCARTHY: You did? Marshall was more worried about communists and things than some of us on the faculty. Then when he left I sort of became involved and was elected chairman in '47 and then ran for Congress in '48.

APIC: What was it like to go down to Washington in 1948 as a young man?

McCARTHY: Yeh, I was 30 or 31. I think it was a pretty enthusiastic year because a lot of the people who came in were World War II veterans and the campaign had been a good campaign. Compared to now we had five or six good issues. We had civil rights, for instance, after the convention. We had the Marshall Plan, support for the U.N. and even Point Four. We had a good foreign policy and then there was the whole range of domestic things that had been sort of neglected during the war. They were not new but they were still important. We were talking about medicare, we were talking about unemployment compensation, social security; all of these things...public housing. I think it was the first campaign in which public housing was an issue. So there was a good mix of issues; foreign

policy and domestic policy and especially civil rights. And I think the fact that we sort of beat the odds, Truman was supposed to lose and he won, so everybody came in kind of excited and ready to go.

APIC: Truman ran well in the farm belt. Was he a help in Minnesota?

McCARTHY: He carried Minnesota. I remember when he came in, we'd heard all these bad reports about no one showing up for him in the West. Do you remember, he'd had those empty amphitheatres? He came into Duluth and we had 100,000 people in the streets of Duluth. I said to a couple of the press guys, "What do you mean, 'no response?' There's only 80,000 people in this town and there's 100,000 people in the streets." When he went to St. Paul and Minneapolis it was the same way. They said, "In truth, it hasn't been this way." His campaign took off there and he was reported to have borrowed the money from old Charlie Ward in Minneapolis or St. Paul in order to finance his Labor Day speech in Detroit! (laughter) He was kind of living off the land. Ward was an ex-con. I don't know if you know the Charlie Ward story.

APIC: No, what is it?

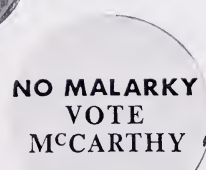
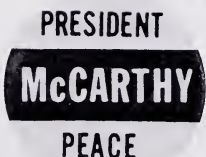
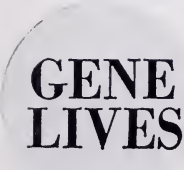
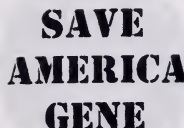
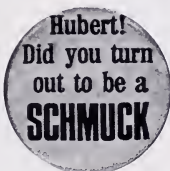
McCARTHY: At that time he was head of a novelty company, Brown and Bigelow, that made calenders and stuff like that. They had a lot of money. Charlie had been in jail for something like drug running and he met Bigelow, who was in for stock fraud or something, and they struck up a friendship. Bigelow brought him into the company. Bigelow drowned under strange circumstances in some Northern lake and Charlie became president of the company. (laughter) But I think Roosevelt or Truman paroled him or pardoned him. There was something funny about it. Charlie had a big folder of letters in plastic from people like Roosevelt. I only saw him once. He was supposed to be a big contributor and we owed some money after a campaign, not much because we didn't spend much, but we probably owed three or four thousand dollars which was a lot of money then. I had never met him. He was a big man wearing a grey silk shirt with lots of flowers around. He was kind of gross looking but he had lots of cut flowers and pretty secretaries running around and he had a great big bowl of the worst looking peaches I'd ever seen. Here was Charlie in the middle of all



APIC Interviewer Michael Kelly



McCarthy Collector Michael Dunham



this with black sweat rings under his arms...he said, "You can send me your bills!" I never did, but it was a strange experience. He used to give out billfolds with his initials on them like LBJ with his brand. It was sort of like putting his brand on you. I never got any money from him but that was Charlie. He put up \$40,000 for Truman to go on to Detroit and pay for the radio.

APIC: Money has always been part of politics, I guess.

McCARTHY: But that was a lean campaign for everybody. I think we spent \$12,000 in the general election for my congressional race.

APIC: The Minnesota D.F.L. has produced a lot of major leaders; yourself, Humphrey, Mondale - even Orville Freeman was in Kennedy and Johnson's cabinets - while similar states like Wisconsin and Michigan didn't produce anyone. Why do you think that was?

McCARTHY: I don't know. Wisconsin is pretty much like Minnesota. There's a lot of interest in politics in Minnesota but the same is true in Wisconsin. Maybe Wisconsin is more divided; Milwaukee is kind of like Chicago whereas Minneapolis and St. Paul are pretty individual. I don't know. Someone asked me why I was running this year and I said that if I don't it will be the first time since '64 there hasn't been a Minnesotan on the national ticket. In '72 we had (Communist candidate) Gus Hall who was from Minnesota. Gus' real name was Hallberg (laughter) so you've got to cut Gus in.

APIC: At the 1960 Democratic convention, your speech nominating Adlai Stevenson was acclaimed as thrilling. How long did you have to write that speech?

McCARTHY: I think it was about 10 or 11 in the morning when I agreed to do it and was supposed to deliver it at 3 in the afternoon. As it turned out, it was at 8 pm. I didn't change it much from 3 til 8. It was ready by 3 and I don't think it improved much after that.

APIC: If Kennedy hadn't won on the first ballot, would you have preferred to see Johnson nominated?

McCARTHY: I think probably, yeh. I wouldn't like to have to make that choice, I'd have preferred Stevenson. It would have been a pretty hard choice. I knew Kennedy better than I knew Johnson. I just didn't think he was ready, maybe Johnson was. I didn't think Kennedy was any more ready than I was and I didn't think I was ready to be president then.

APIC: In 1964, you were on Johnson's short list for vice president...

McCARTHY: Short list? How did you spell that?

APIC: (laughter) If you had been chosen, do you think you might have been caught by the duties of a vice president into defending the Vietnam war?

McCARTHY: Back in Atlantic City I said that when Johnson said he was going to 'give new meaning to the office' he had lost me. My conception of the vice presidency was that of Thomas Jefferson who said it gave him time in the summer to study nature and time in the winter to contemplate philosophy. I said that was the way I planned to run the vice presidency. I said that before he rejected me. When the press asked me my conception of the office I told them "none of this 'new meaning' stuff!" I

think I would have played it that way, apart from the war, which we didn't expect to develop then since Johnson was pretty much on record against it. It didn't look like the kind of thing you'd have to face. We didn't know as much about that war as we did later. This new book by the *New York Times* guy, Sheehan, reporting about the '62, '63, '64 period of the Vietnam war is pretty interesting.

APIC: That's a nice concept...the vice presidency as a sabbatical.

McCARTHY: They all want to have "new meaning." Nixon had "new meaning" and Ike said, "I don't know what he did." Bush would be better off if he had not been faking, pretending he was drug czar and all that kind of stuff when he had no real power.

APIC: Alben Barkley had a TV show.

McCARTHY: Yeh, that was a good idea! I wrote a little piece on the office and said what was good enough for Tom and Alben was good enough for me. Among modern vice presidents I thought Barkley had played it right. I don't know what would have happened if I had been in office but the interesting part of the whole '64 thing was Johnson's concern over Bobby. I hadn't thought he was that concerned over Bobby but he named every Catholic he knew as potential vice presidents. He figured if he had to

Vote Today

FOR

EUGENE J. McCarthy

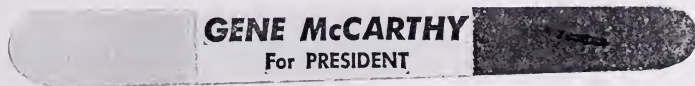
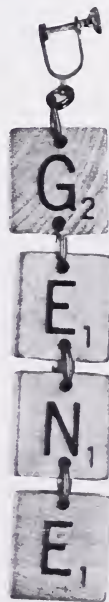
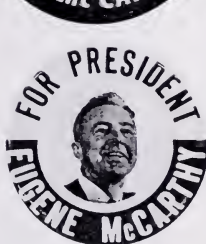
For

PRESIDENT

Authorized and paid for by McCarthy for President, Ted Finnan, Treas., 119 E. Milford St., Madison, Wis.



Sticker



reject Bobby he could say, "I'm not anti-Catholic. Look at all these guys on my list."

APIC: Do you think Humphrey would have opposed the war had he still been in the Senate in 1968?

McCARTHY: He was a pro-Vietnam war guy long before he was vice president.

APIC: A Cold War Democrat?

McCARTHY: Yeh, anti-communist, and I think there was a little in Humphrey...he never quite clearly defended his draft deferments and they used that against him in the senate races in Minnesota all the time. I think he was finally 4-F but until that time he had deferments for being mayor of Minneapolis and whatever it was. The Kennedys used it on him in West Virginia and I think there was a disposition to say "I'm really a militaristic guy," a little bit of an overreaction. In fact, he criticized the Eisenhower administration in '54 for not supporting the French, which tactically might have been a better thing to do than what we did but I don't think that was what he was saying. I think the war would have run on about the same whether Johnson had been re-elected or Humphrey or, as was the case, Nixon.

APIC: What led you to run for president in 1968?

McCARTHY: I came to it rather gradually just by absorbing the war itself and concluding that the people who were running it were either not honest about it or were deceiving themselves first and then deceiving us. This was a war in which you could study the historical perspective. By 1967 it was 20 years old, the French were there, the Eisenhower support, the Kennedy support and Johnson began the big escalation. It wasn't as though it sprung up overnight or even like the Korean War which developed very quickly. This was something you could look at like reading history. You could say, this is a 20 year war and this is the strange way they ran it. In that context you could gradually come to the conclusion that something had to be done to stop it. It was getting worse and worse.

APIC: When you announced that you would challenge an incumbent president of your own party who had been elected in a landslide, what was the reaction of your regular political confidants?

McCARTHY: They were a little shy. I think they never quite figured it out. They had the image of Lyndon the all-powerful operator. There are two things. One, I had never thought Johnson was quite as adept a politician as he made himself out to be or as the press made him out to be with his acknowledgement. The other was that I didn't take it as a wholly personal act on my part. I was acting for the Senate in this historical context against Lyndon Johnson and not for me as a politician. I think a lot of those people didn't understand or accept the explanation.

APIC: Looking at your career, one has the sense that you are not playing the traditional political game but rather playing an historical role.

McCARTHY: Really, it's an institutional role, I think. I saw my role in the House as different than that in the Senate. I believed in party conformity pretty much and the committee system. Liberals said I should be for breaking up the committee system in the House, but I said that the

House of Representatives has to be run on some kind of party discipline. The Senate is a different matter, especially in the area of foreign policy and military policy. You really couldn't be a partisan instrument, you had to perform as the Senate was intended to perform.

APIC: Before your victory in the 1968 New Hampshire primary, did any senators or governors publicly support you?

McCARTHY: Well, I don't know if you'd say public support. There were about fifteen senators who were on record against the war and I would say that probably at that time only two — (Oregon Senator Wayne) Morse and (Alaska Senator Ernest) Gruening — and then (Iowa Governor) Harold Hughes followed very quickly, but we didn't really urge them to come in. It didn't make that much difference if we were endorsed or not. I talked to people like McGovern and said, "Well, you've got to get re-elected and it doesn't make that much difference." I said I wouldn't even run in South Dakota — this is before Bobby came in — if it will embarrass you. South Dakota was the same day as California and wasn't going to have any real impact, and I didn't want to hurt him. And then (Texas Senator) Ralph Yarborough publicly endorsed me. In fact (Texas Senator) Lloyd Bentsen used that to defeat him in the primary. I guess the only other one on the public record was (Oregon Republican Senator Mark) Hatfield. There were some House members, but in the Senate that was about it. (Michigan Senator) Phil Hart voted for me at the convention. (Senator Vance) Hartke in Indiana came out for me and then he came out for Bobby when Bobby came in. Then at the end, I don't know what he did. He probably went to Humphrey. I don't know what he did.

A breath of fresh air.



Gene McCarthy



STAFF



MCCARTHY



Make It Happen

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ARTHUR A. KAPLAN
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EUGENE M-CARTHY



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PEACE
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MCCARTHY

FOR

PRESIDENT

CLOSE COVER BEFORE STRIKING

APIC: How did the way the media covered you change after New Hampshire?

McCARTHY: They began to cover me anyway. They had counted it off. *New York Times* took its reporters out. CBS had a guy up there and I asked him, "How many feet of film do you get each day?" He replied, "About 25." If he got that much. The two networks that counted then - NBC and CBS - even had an agreement that they weren't going to spend a lot of money on the closing night because it wasn't going to be significant. At the end, NBC put in a big thing — I don't know what moved them to do it — they had Brinkley at the Wayfarer Inn and CBS didn't do it. Schumacher was their guy and he said, "I've been covering you all the time and these guys weren't around, we had an agreement not to do this big show and there they are. Come over with me first, they're going to have to cover you anyways, I'll get you on CBS." We went over to a little CBS station up there that had the studio in a house but we did the filming in a garage. Then I went back and NBC was in the Wayfarer Inn but they had figured right up to the end that it wasn't going to mean anything so they weren't going to spend any money to cover it.

APIC: How soon after the New Hampshire results were in did Senator Kennedy jump into the race?

McCARTHY: Well he said something even before, you know. The day before. He said he was reconsidering and once he said that, I figured that he was coming in.

APIC: What do you think were his motivations?

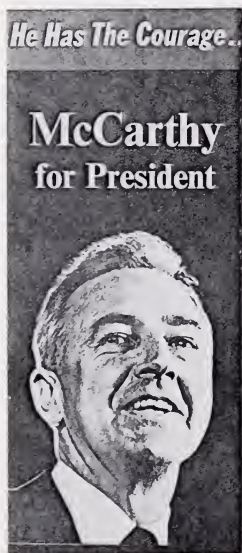
McCARTHY: Well, I don't know. I think basically Bobby was really after Johnson. You know that story about how he and (Defense Secretary Robert) McNamara went to Johnson and said, 'we won't run against you if you let us

run foreign policy.' He was afraid to run against Johnson. In fact, when I talked to him he said, 'I can't run. I have to think of my future.' When he found Johnson was vulnerable he thought he could be beaten. That was one aspect. The other was that he thought that if I were to win it would have ended the Kennedy line. His stock in trade was political courage but here he'd been afraid to run. So he was sort of challenged in what was supposed to be his distinguishing strength; courage.

It was really awful, you know. We really challenged all these guys; Bobby and his courage which was his great claim and Humphrey and his belief in "one person — one vote" and primaries. In 1960 Humphrey had said that people who wouldn't run in primaries shouldn't be considered, "one person — one vote." But when it got down to the showdown, he didn't care about "one person — one vote," he didn't care about primaries. Humphrey's commitment to pure democracy was somewhat less than it was represented to be. He never quite recovered from that, and the third was that Johnson was the great manipulator that nobody could outmaneuver and we proved there were certain circumstances he couldn't maneuver or manipulate and he quit.

So once you've done that to the three principle forces in the party, you're in trouble. (laughter) It doesn't leave you any place to hide! We were quite innocent about it. I didn't know that Bobby was going to come in, didn't know that Lyndon was going to pull out and didn't know Humphrey would be my opponent. You never know when you start something like that just how it's going to go.

APIC: After New Hampshire you had a string of primary victories — Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania —

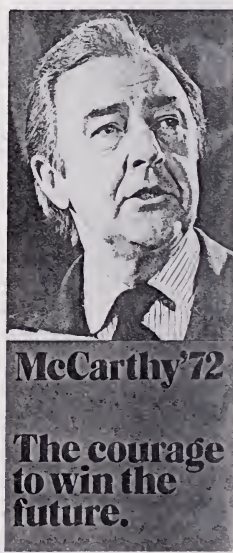
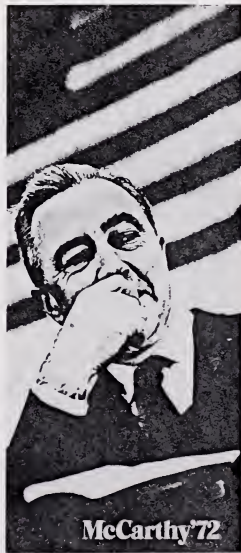


Senator Eugene J. McCarthy

PORTRAIT OF A LEADER
IN HIS OWN WORDS

"There is no more eloquent representative of what is good in American life"

—Atlas E. Stevenson





KENNEDY
IS SEX, BUT
McCARTHY
IS LOVE

KENNEDY
THE
QUISLING

WRITE IN
McCarthy ☒
PRESIDENT

Write in
McCARTHY

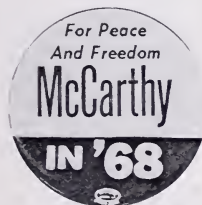


eugene



★
EUGENE
McCARTHY
★★★
FOR PRESIDENT

Write In
For
McCARTHY



EUGENE!

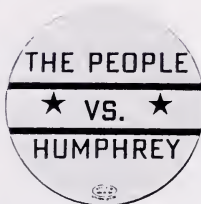


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ALIVE & WELL IN
McCARTHY

VOTE
McCARTHY
FOR
PEACE & PROGRESS
★



eugene



Mc CARTHY
not Mc CARTHYISM

McCarthy Candidates For
The Democratic Convention:

ARTHUR GOODMAN
CHARLES WILSON
SIDNEY ALTMAN
WILLIAM KAIL
JEROME ZIEGLER
MARCELLE HALL

McCARTHY

McCARTHY CAN'T FAIL
WITH:
**HALL
ZIEGLER
AND
KAIL**

CLOSE COVER 61 FOR SAFETY

and then you met Senator Kennedy in the Indiana primary along with local hopeful Governor Roger Brannigan.

McCARTHY: We didn't really get beat in Indiana. It was a three-way split. I think Bobby got 35-36%, I got 29% and Brannigan got whatever was in between. We probably would have beaten Bobby if it had been one-on-one in Indiana but Brannigan took about a third. If Bobby hadn't been assassinated, California would have been called a draw and we would have beaten Bobby in New York. We did beat the Kennedy organization in New York.

APIC: You later won Illinois. Even the same day as the California primary, you won New Jersey but no attention was paid in the shock over Senator Kennedy. What was your reaction when you heard Senator Kennedy had been killed?

McCARTHY: Oh, I don't know...just kind of numb, you know. I think what I said was, "There's got to be a better way to pick candidates than *this*" and that's true. We figured after that we were through. We thought we had a chance on the issue (Vietnam) while Bobby was still alive though not on the nomination. But once he was killed we knew we couldn't do it on the issue. We knew some of his people would go over to the other side and they did.

APIC: There was always a faction of the Kennedy organization more motivated by power than principles.

McCARTHY: Yeh, they'd have been for Bobby if he'd said 'I'm going to put *more* soldiers in than Johnson has. He's not fighting the war vigorously enough.' But too bad he was killed.

That would have been some convention with the Kennedy forces still in there! I tell you (laughter) Lyndon would have almost been for me to keep Bobby from getting the nomination. There would have been some awful forces and I would have been the innocent guy in the middle.

APIC: When the primaries were over, did you see any serious hope that you might win the nomination?

McCARTHY: Not very much. We tried, you know, we worked all the delegates by mail but I didn't have a chance because the non-primary states were all fixed, you know. If Bobby hadn't come in we'd have had time to work more in those states but as it was our whole effort after he came in was against him. Meanwhile the party regulars sewed up the non-primary states and they weren't going to give.

APIC: What was your relationship with Hubert Humphrey, your long time ally, as you approached the convention?

McCARTHY: Well, it was a little strained. He was in a difficult position. He was still defending the war and defending undemocratic processes. On the one hand they were going to reject the Georgia delegation, the Mississippi delegation as unrepresentative but they would take all of Michigan and would pay no attention to the primary in Pennsylvania. There wasn't much to talk about really. We were friendly after the election was over. It wasn't the same as it had been but we talked with each other and saw each other.

APIC: Although you eventually endorsed Hubert Humphrey over Richard Nixon, some Humphrey supporters are still bitter about the timing of that endorse-

ment. Given how close the election was, could you have done anything differently?

McCARTHY: I think it was a good endorsement. In fact, I went a little farther than I thought I should in terms of what I thought he might do about the war. I don't think there was anyone waiting for me to endorse that didn't know I had done it. You had two candidates who people knew, Humphrey and Nixon. They had been in the public eye for 30 years. They'd both been Vice President, had a full campaign. It isn't as though I was endorsing someone nobody knew and I don't think endorsements in a presidential campaign mean much anyway. I say to those people, If you were so worried about Nixon, I'm amazed you supported Humphrey over me in Chicago because the polls showed Humphrey losing to Nixon before Chicago and showed me beating Nixon by 8 points. So if you were really so worried about Richard Nixon you should have said 'McCarthy is a bad guy but we can't take a chance on Nixon.' (laughter) It doesn't compel them to surrender but at least it stops them for awhile.

APIC: Did President Nixon offer you the post of UN Ambassador?

McCARTHY: Yeh, he did. I told him I'd take it if they'd appoint a Democrat to the Senate in my place. Minnesota had a Republican governor then. But they wouldn't. I didn't think I had a right to give up the Senate seat to a Republican. I had some hesitation about taking it because I think when you go to the U.N. it is sort of like saying this is the end of partisan politics and I wasn't quite ready for that. It would have been alright if I had taken it but I think it's a place where you send someone like Stevenson. You say that he's a super statesman now and above the fray. You can defend the U.N.'s principles and you don't have to come back and run for office again. If Dukakis had been the U.N. ambassador, Bush would have been saying, "These are the principles of the U.N. Charter. Do you believe in all this stuff?" Bush would just say he didn't believe in what he was doing. His was the sort of appointment that shouldn't have been made. You shouldn't put an active politician at the U.N.

APIC: Moynihan did all right with his U.N. post.

McCARTHY: Yeh, he did the same thing and it turned out pretty well. Andy Young still had political ambitions. See, the old practice was different. Warren Austin left the Senate to go to the U.N. Henry Cabot Lodge was thought to have finished his political career...Adlai Stevenson, Arthur Goldberg. Progressively after that they began to use it for political appointments. There is no continuing sense of what the office means.

APIC: Why did you leave your Senate seat in 1970?

McCARTHY: I'd have had a hard time getting re-elected.

APIC: Do you think Humphrey would have fought you in the primary?

McCARTHY: I don't know whether he could have beaten me or even whether he'd have run against me but I think the labor movement would have done to me what they did to Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening. They had both been defeated. I don't think Humphrey would have done it. He still wanted to be president and I think he would



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Reduced to 65%

Actual Size

have thought that it was too brazen. I'm not sure. I didn't really want to go back to the Senate anyway. I had a feeling that the Senate hadn't really performed as it should have in regards to Vietnam. That's where the really serious challenge should have come to the war in Vietnam. Fulbright sort of tried but you couldn't get any support outside of the (Senate Foreign Relations) Committee.

APIC: You ran for the Democratic nomination again in 1972. What did you try to achieve with that campaign?

McCARTHY: Well, I didn't try to achieve very much except that it was kind of a leftover and I thought there ought to be a challenge to the war. As it developed, when McGovern moved out ahead of me I decided I wasn't going to stay in and fight for it as long as there was an anti-war movement. Not to divide it the way Bobby had.

APIC: Why did you pick Illinois to make your only serious effort?

McCARTHY: I wanted to challenge Muskie. Muskie had behaved pretty badly in '68, you know. In *Man For All Seasons* More says to Rich, "it profits a man nothing to give his soul for the whole world...but for Wales?" We carried every New England state except Maine in '68 and Muskie delivered it for the vice presidency...I hoped to have some impact on the convention and I had never approved of McGovern's conduct in '68. After that, in '72, he sort of ran against me, which wasn't very nice.

APIC: In 1976 you ran for President again, but this time as an Independent. Why did you do that?

McCARTHY: We were fighting that Federal Election Law and the only way to establish grounds for a case against it was to run as an Independent. That was after we fought it through the Supreme Court. The Court had said in effect, 'We don't know if the things you say are implicit in this act are really there until we have experienced it.' The only way to prove that is to run and show them.

APIC: In 1980, however, John Anderson was able to get ballot status in all 50 states as a third party.

McCARTHY: He had two things going for him. We had won lawsuits in about 20 states (we had spent all our time,

practically, in court) so he had that to build on. Plus he won some cases. But he had a couple of issues while we were working on process. I think the best way to do it, unless you have a compelling issue, is to run in a party the way he did and then bolt after being rejected. He established himself, got the exposure, got the matching funds early and got his position on one or two issues distinguishing him from Reagan and the others. Otherwise he would have had to come on cold and get very little attention. I don't think John had that figured out in the first place but as it developed it was the right way to do it unless you have a compelling issue before you start. Even then you may have to take it to the primaries to let the public know you're running and have a stand on the issue, which is what Anderson did. I think George Wallace had that figured out.

APIC: Wallace did it both ways. In '64 he ran as a Democrat, in '68 he ran as an Independent and in '72 as a Democrat again.

McCARTHY: He figured out that the party was the place to be. Whether he would have bolted after, I don't know. I'm not sure how old George had that one figured out.

APIC: 1980 was an interesting year to watch Gene McCarthy. Early in the year you attended some Libertarian Party events and said nice things about the Libertarians. Were you attracted by the Libertarian message or by the third party alternative it offered?

McCARTHY: I'm halfway to the Libertarians. I agreed with them about as much as I agreed with the Democrats, on different issues. I thought there should be a third party challenge and I thought the Libertarians had the best base for building something.

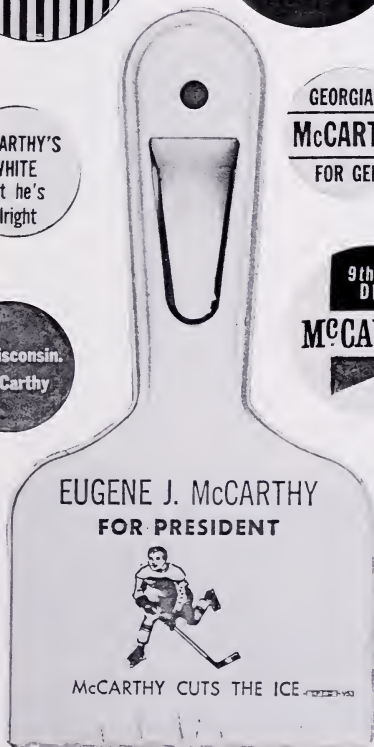
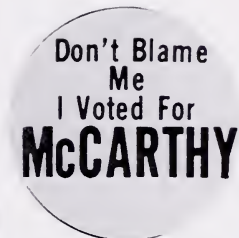
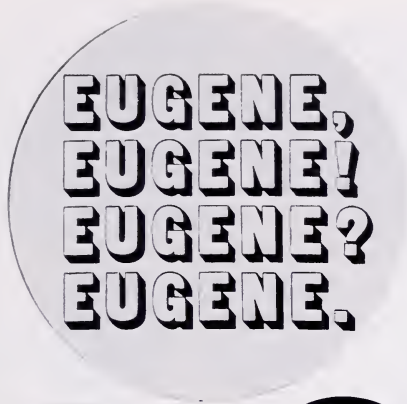
APIC: Later that year you supported Jerry Brown for the Democratic nomination.

McCARTHY: Oh, I guess so, as much as I supported anyone.

APIC: You made a campaign appearance with him in Wisconsin.

McCARTHY: Yeh, that's right, I did. I think Jerry's one







Screened Cloth Buttons 1968

of the few politicians in either party who has any ideas. There are only about three; Jerry Brown, (Colorado Governor) Dick Lamm and the former mayor of Cleveland...Dennis Kucinich, he's got some ideas, you know. They're about the only three that have any ideas of any consequence in the Democratic Party.

APIC: Then you finished 1980 by endorsing Ronald Reagan.

McCARTHY: I explained that. There were two things. One, Carter had lost control of inflation, the most disturbing economic aberration you can have. It's worse than the deficit. Two, Carter had lost control over the process of nuclear disarmament. If he couldn't get Salt II through he couldn't do anything. Salt II was a license to build more weapons. I said that I didn't know what Reagan would do but I thought he'd do more than Carter did, which proved right. It took the second term to do it but it was prophetic.

APIC: In 1982 you returned to Minnesota to seek the Democratic Senate nomination. What sort of reaction did you receive from the party?

McCARTHY: Nothing from the party, which was against me. I got 29% and all we did was file. I really did that to test the party. I didn't want to oppose Mondale unless he refused to support me. I thought I'd give him a test out there. I didn't oppose Mondale in '84, I didn't endorse Reagan in '84 but I could have had a good case against the party for non-support. I probably could have beaten (Minnesota Republican Senator David) Durenberger if they'd have rallied to me. I could have neutralized him on several issues and helped them win. Plus the fact that

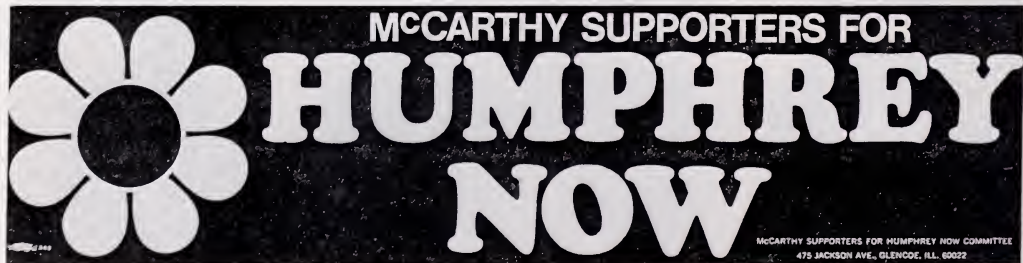
there were people out there who said, "you've got to do it once more even though you know you can't win."

APIC: Well, that brings us to 1988 and your campaign on the Consumer Party ticket...

McCARTHY: I'm a "Progressive" in Minnesota, different names in different states. Actually, I wish Anderson had run. I think there should have been a third party challenge just to keep it alive. I said, okay we'll see what we can do. We had talked a little bit with the Libertarian Party, some of the Anderson people, the New York Conservative Party and Liberal Party, one or two other minor party groups around, the Peace and Freedom Party people, to see if they could come to some agreement. Kind of do the Republicans in 1856 thing, but we couldn't pull everybody together.

APIC: You could have been the John Charles Fremont of 1988.

McCARTHY: Yeh, something like that. That's right. The closest was the Peace and Freedom Party out in California but they wouldn't compromise enough. The Democrats were really worried that I'd be on the ballot in California.



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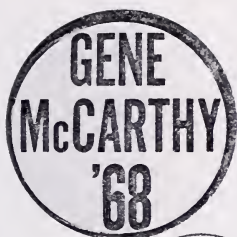
REPUBLICANS

FOR

SENATOR EUGENE

McCARTHY

1968



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1968

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PRESIDENT

1968

APIC: Here in Michigan it should be a close race. You might make the difference here.

McCARTHY: It may be, I don't know. We haven't quite decided how much of a drive to make in the last month. We could determine Pennsylvania, Michigan, Minnesota, maybe New Jersey. But the Democrats might not even know I'm on the ballot yet. So that's where we are.

APIC: I suspect most people don't even know you're running for President in 1988.

McCARTHY: Yeh, I thought it would work out a little better earlier but I hated to ask people for money. I didn't know if we were going to do it or not or if it would work. You face the prospect of the "two party" thing — they won't give you any publicity initially and then they ask you how much money you have. They (the Democrats and Republicans) can overwhelm you now. I don't know what these parties will spend. I imagine they'll spend \$200 million.

APIC: It's come to the point where it takes \$100,000 just to run for Congress now.

McCARTHY: Yeh. We had a fellow in Minnesota in 1982, Mark Dayton, who reported spending \$14 million and the Republican reported \$4½ million and he had all the incumbency going for him. I think the last time I ran for the Senate in 1964 I spent \$360,000 but that was a long time ago.

APIC: What do you think about Bush and Dukakis?

McCARTHY: The problem with them is neither of them has a sense of what the office is. Without that you have to start all over when you get in and it's pretty hard to learn on the job.

APIC: That was the problem Carter seemed to have.

McCARTHY: Yeh. Henry Adams' wife said he 'chewed more than he bit off.' (laughter)

APIC: What is the most erroneous political impression Americans have?

McCARTHY: I think it's what deTocqueville said. I think they've been convinced that the popular judgement is easy and right. The idea that I can pick a president just by watching him on TV...deTocqueville talks about the demagoguery that tells them it's true and everybody sort of says it, as if what we need is more direct democracy, more primaries, more exposure. Let's know more about peoples' whole life and then we'll make better decisions. It's clearly

contrary to the concepts of the Founding Fathers.

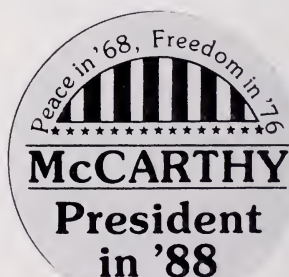
APIC: Do you think the "two party system" is a mistake?

McCARTHY: What you've got operating is that as institutions start to fail they try to freeze themselves into position by law, whether it's a church or a political party or whatever. That's why the Federal Election Law was really written, to protect the two party system. In consequence of that, the range of issues raised is limited and the disposition to differ significantly is reduced.

It's sort of like those bicycle races where you go as slow as you can. You can stand still as long as you don't fall off the bicycle. And then the last round or two you go as fast as you can. You get the impression this is what Bush and Dukakis are doing. They both are very careful in the debates to not say anything and they hope somehow at the end they'll win. I think the two main parties move closer together but if you had a third party able to win electoral votes it could become a real asset. Back in Minnesota we had the Farmer-Labor Party which developed new ideas and effected both the Republican and the Democratic parties. Without it, politics in Minnesota was pretty much just a fight over who got to appoint postmasters, who controlled patronage. In fact, we had the old Democrats before we joined the Farmer-Laborites who really didn't want the fusion because they didn't really want to win elections. If they elected a congressman they weren't happy because he interfered with the distribution of patronage.

APIC: Like the old Southern Republicans.

McCARTHY: Yeh, that's right, it was the same thing. That only works when you have a two party system. You have had a lot of good people who were against two party politics starting with George Washington, who was against any parties. John Adams said it was the worst possible political structure you could have. Abraham Lincoln was part of a third party, challenging the Whigs and the Democrats. Theodore Roosevelt was a third party candidate and in our own time you had Henry Wallace, George Wallace, John Anderson and Gene McCarthy. What do you want? All the way from Washington to McCarthy! It's a good tradition but in the last fifty years they've built up this idea that you can't have good government unless you have only two parties, which is ridiculous.★



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Beth Israel Synagogue

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McCarthy vs. Muskie March 21

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THE MAKING OF A PRESIDENT 1988

EUGENE MCCARTHY

Author, former U.S. Senator, and
Presidential Candidate

A U.S. Senator from Minnesota from 1958-1970 Eugene McCarthy served on the Agriculture, Finance, and Foreign Relations Committees. His bid for the 1976 presidency as an Independent candidate challenged ballot-access election laws in 16 states.

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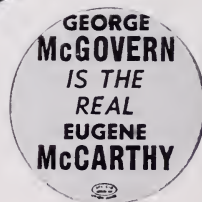
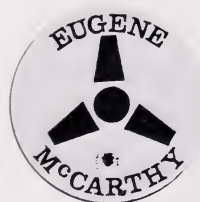
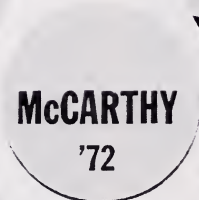
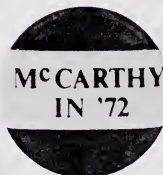
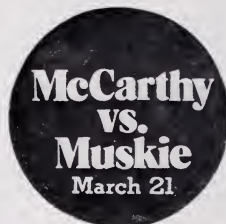


Eugene McCarthy
1976 Presidential Candidate

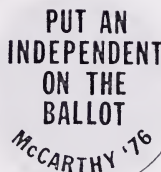
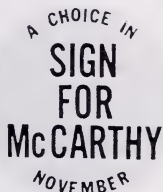
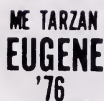
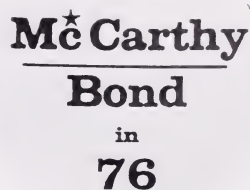
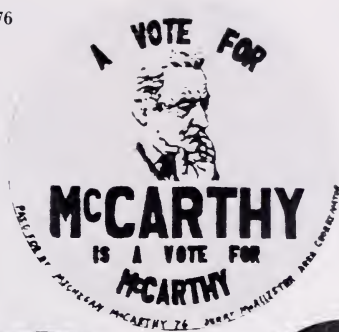
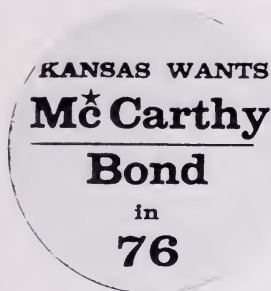
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1972



1976



Earrings



INTERVIEW: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

By Richard Rector

EDITOR'S NOTE: This interview took place in 1973 in Washington, D.C. Richard Rector and a student from Arizona interviewed Congresswoman Chisholm, but the interview was never published. We found it interesting as an insight into a leading politician of the 1960's and 70's, and in conjunction with the McCarthy interview in this issue.

Shirley Chisholm (D — NY) served in Congress from 1969 — 1983. Ms. Chisholm was known even before her election to be rather outspoken, so she was placed on the House Agriculture Committee despite the fact that she was from an inner city district. Congresswoman Chisholm quipped that the only crop grown in her district was marijuana.

She sought the Democratic Presidential Nomination in 1972, becoming the first black woman to seek the nomination of a major political party. The first black was the Rev. Channing Phillips who headed the Washington D.C. delegation for Robert Kennedy, but finding himself in Chicago without a candidate, decided to run himself. The first woman was Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, who sought the Republican Presidential Nomination in 1964.

Unlike Jesse Jackson's campaigns, Shirley Chisholm's candidacy received little support from black leaders around the country. Instead, most of her support came from feminist groups. Even there, she had opposition. One group of feminists encouraged an eleventh hour bid by Hawaii Congresswoman Patsy Mink. Mink made the ballot in three states and polled only 8,286 votes.

Shirley Chisholm made the ballot in 12 states, and received write-ins in two others (there were only 21 primaries in 1972). She polled 430,703 votes or 2.68% of all the votes cast in the 1972 Democratic presidential primaries. She placed seventh in a field of seventeen. Her best showing was in New Jersey, where she won the popular vote (her only opponent was Terry Sanford). However, the delegate contest was won by George McGovern.

During the course of the Watergate revelations, her campaign was mentioned twice. The first was in the original Watergate master plan, the Gemstone file, under a plan called Coal. It was explained by the plan's author, G. Gordon Liddy, in his book, "Coal was the program to furnish money clandestinely to Shirley Chisholm of New York to finance her as a contender, and force the Democratic candidates to fight off a black woman; bound to generate ill feeling among the black community and we hoped cause difficulty with women. Once again Mitchell interrupted me "You can forget about that. Nelson Rockefeller's already taking care of that nicely." Her name came up again on John Dean's famous White House enemies list.

Q: Why did you seek the presidency?

A: I sought the presidency so that the next time a woman or

a black person decides to make a bid for the presidency, that that individual will not have to be on the defensive for five months just because he is black or because she is a woman; that this is a multifaceted society that should be able to mobilize the talents of all kinds of citizens, and traditionally, because the presidency has been the exclusive domain of white males; people laughed at the idea of anyone other than a white male running for the presidency of the United States as a fool. I blazed the trail. I went to the edge so that now any black or any woman running will not be regarded as some folly or some evil.

Q: Why didn't the members of the House Black Caucus rally around your candidacy?

A: Precisely because it blew the minds of many people. How dare Shirley Chisholm run for the presidency? She's a black person and she's a woman. So in order to get people moving away from traditional ways, or traditional levels of thinking, one has to be a catalyst. So I became that catalyst for change in society. So black men are no different from white men in terms of their attitudes toward women in society. Many men seem to feel that women should only carry out certain prescribed roles that are the traditional way of doing things. So I was not surprised that I didn't get wholehearted support from them.

Q: Were you disappointed?

A: No, I wasn't disappointed, because I wasn't running to be the President of black people, I was running to be the President of all Americans, with the expectation that some blacks would support me in this endeavor.

Q: Did you believe that you could win?

A: No I didn't really believe that I could win, but I believed that it was very important that one create a climate in this country so that sometime in the future, a woman or a black could become the President of this country.

Q: Why didn't you give Senator McGovern very much support in the last election?

A: Well, I think that one must remember that when Senator McGovern returned from Miami, for whatever his reasons may have been, he did not think perhaps that I was very important in terms of supporting him for the general election. He did not get in touch with me until way after Labor Day. I'm a very proud woman, I don't go running behind people. I think if a person is interested in your support, it is their responsibility to take the initiative; he did not take the initiative. I later found out that he was being advised very badly by certain forces around him who had never been too keen on the Chisholm candidacy anyhow.

Q: How do you feel about the fact that Governor George Wallace, who once vowed "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever," has received such widespread support throughout the country?

A: I think whether or not one agrees with Governor Wallace's ideology or political philosophy, the fact of the



Poster



Brochure

matter is that he represents a certain constituency in this country, and that when he was making a bid for the presidency, he was talking about things that were dear to the hearts of this constituency. He was talking about the power in charge of the large corporate and financial interests in this country. He was talking about the necessity for the little people getting more attention from the Federal Government. He was addressing himself to issues that were very dear to the hearts of the people that he represented, and that is why he was so popular. It has nothing to do with the fact that there are large numbers of people in this country that don't believe or espouse his ideology or his political faith.

Q: You said in 1972 that you would be willing to share the Democratic ticket with Governor Wallace. Do you still feel this way?

A: I don't know where you got that remark. I never said that I would share the Democratic ticket with Governor Wallace. You had better look at it again. It was probably taken out of context.

Q: Who would you have chosen for vice president if you had won the nomination?

A: I wouldn't have had a ready answer to that. I think that what would have been necessary is that, in terms of those people who were backing me, that it would have been very necessary to call a meeting and get input from all the different persons, that I alone couldn't just select a person. It would be very necessary to pull together all kinds of people, and get some kind of input. To me that was not the important thing at that particular point.

Q: I understand that you ran for Congress twice unopposed. Why do you think no one would oppose you?

A: Well, I think so often when talk about the record speaking for itself, my record speaks for itself. The fact that I do work very hard, that I have been able to bring monies into the district, I've been able to help many, many people in terms of promotional opportunities that they had not been able to get because of a lack of a representative who was personally interested in the interests of blacks, and I think that in the overall analysis that, as Al Smith used to say, "Let the record speak," and I think my record speaks for itself, and that's one reason among others why I have not encountered real opposition. I realize it will come, and I may even encounter opposition next year.

Q: You said recently that you might retire from the House either in 1974 or 1976 because of an inability on your part to effect the change that you desire. Why do you think it's so difficult to effect this change?

A: I think that people say that you have to recognize that in the United States Congress, you have a group of people who represent all kinds of people in this country, and perhaps you shouldn't be too disappointed if you don't get immediate change, that it takes time to acquire change over a period of time. But, I think what's even more basic is that many people don't understand and realize that I've always said ever since I entered political life that I'm not interested in being a career politician. I have no desire to continue in the area of politics. It's a rough life, it's a tough life, you have to look for money every two years. People like myself, who come from certain areas of the country, don't get the

big financial support, don't get the kinds of finances that are necessary to run campaigns. Supplemented by the fact that because I am a very activist kind of individual I work long hours, I'm here from early in the morning to 9:30 or ten at night. I go home on weekends, and it's the same thing. It's very, very rough. I have absolutely no time for private life; I'm not able to do some of the things that I would like to do personally for myself, and since I have no desire to be a career politician, I have said that in the future I will be going from electoral politics, but not public service. I will still be very much around, but not in the area of electoral politics.

Q: In relation to change, if people as strong willed as yourself can not change things in Congress quickly, who in the world can?

A: That is the question that is always asked, because the individuals who are strong and the individuals who accept the challenge are the persons who should continue in order to give the sense of direction and in order to challenge existing institutions and existing procedures. But I think that over and beyond that, that an individual is entitled to make a personal decision of some kind in his life, and that once he makes that personal decision he will go with it, recognizing that there will be those who will misinterpret and misunderstand his actions. It boils down to a very personal kind of decision that one has to make from time to time in his own life.

Q: Why do you think your name was on the White House enemies list?

A: I think that anyone who dares to dissent and speak out against the inequalities or the grievances of our society has to recognize that if that person has some influence or that person has a following behind him or her, that becomes very troublesome; particularly when that individual is not under the control or influences of any political machine. I am truly one of the few peoples' politicians in this country, who are responsible only to the people in the district and to the people who made Shirley Chisholm who and what she is today.

Q: Doesn't the fact that the entire Black Caucus made the enemies list regardless of political beliefs indicate to you a basic racist attitude on the part of the Nixon Administration?

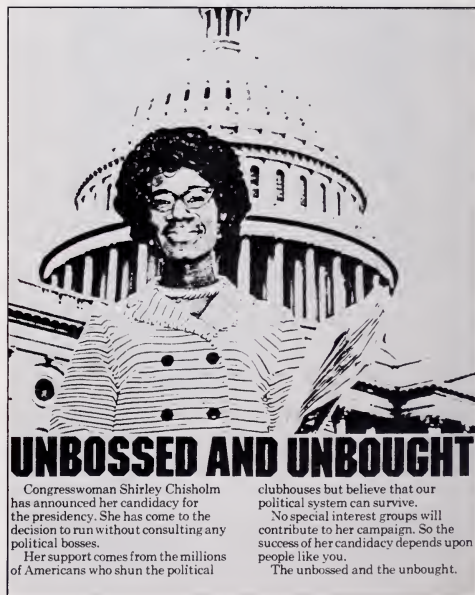
A: I think that is quite clear. Anyone who would place all of them in the same category, and when you look at them very carefully and recognize that not all of the Black Congressmen are threatening to anyone, it is an indication of the inherent racist biased attitude of the administration; when you take an entire category of Congressmen, solely on the basis of race and put all of them on the list and you don't take a category of any other ethnic group of Congressmen in the United States Congress, that would be the only explanation.

Q: Do you think that your tax files were audited or can you think of anything else that they might have done against you?

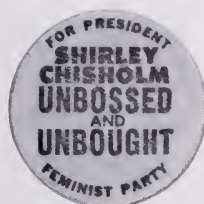
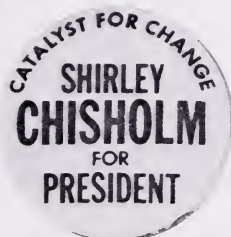
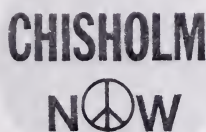
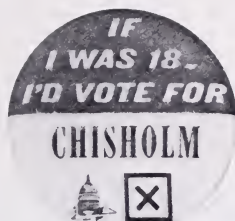
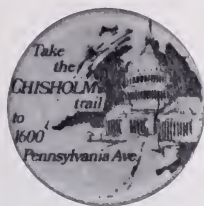
A: No, my tax files haven't been audited. I think that the thing is that, of course, when I made the bid for the presidency, there were certain things that occurred during



Campaign Photograph



Brochure



...a woman in the whitehouse...
SHIRLEY!

CHISHOLM
BEATTY
LEWIS
JEFFERSON

THE TEAM THAT CARES
CHISHOLM
BEATTY
LEWIS
JEFFERSON



Celluloid Spinners



SHIRLEY
CHISHOLM
FOR
PRESIDENT

the campaign that were very strange to me. Now as I follow the Watergate proceedings, I begin to wonder about two incidents in particular. One, in my congressional office one day, we had three telephone men come up to the office wanting to repair the wires, yet we had no difficulty with incoming or outgoing calls, and I remember that I remarked to my Executive Assistant that these gentlemen do not look like regular telephone repairmen, and my Executive Assistant replied "Now don't become paranoid." As I look back, now I wonder if these men did not come in to put some taps or something on my lines, because I know that I've been tapped, we found that out before, but who would know, or who would believe or who would want to feel that even at that very time, we were going to have a Watergate.

Q: What changes would you advocate in Congress. I know that you've characterized the seniority system as the "senility system." What other changes would you advocate?

A: I think the time has come when the Congress will look much more at the backgrounds of the members who come into the House, because, in addition to the seniority system, and I believe that people with experience should move on to certain positions, I don't think that just the length of service is enough to move a person into a powerful position as chairman of a committee, because I think that a person has to be sensitized and attuned to what's happening today. Therefore, you need to look at the backgrounds of the members. If you have members who are accountants, they should be on the Insurance and Banking Committee. Members who are in the teaching profession, or any kind of allied profession with respect to teaching, should be on the Education Committee; members who come from farm

areas should be on the Agriculture Committee. There's not enough of that kind of matching of the person's background. It's based solely on seniority, and I don't think that is correct for a very dynamic change in society.

Q: Why do you think they put you on the Agriculture Committee when you are from a city district?

A: I think that one of the reasons that they did that is that they wanted to bury me before I got too vocal. One of the ways that you get buried in any legislative body is to put the person on a committee which does not necessarily relate to any particular interest that the legislator has.

Q: You predicted that in the year 2012, a woman will finally be elected President. Won't the country be ready for a woman president before that?

A: One can never tell. One has to constantly compare the atmosphere that is conducive to movement in that direction. I think that the entire women's movement in this country is escalating, and women are moving out, and when you think about what happened at the 1972 National Convention, you saw women not there in terms of committee assignments and pouring the tea, but really speaking on the platform and discussing the issues. I think that we will be having a woman president maybe not in my lifetime, but I'm pretty sure that we will have a woman president pretty soon.

Q: What about a black, or a Jewish, or a chicano, or an Indian president?

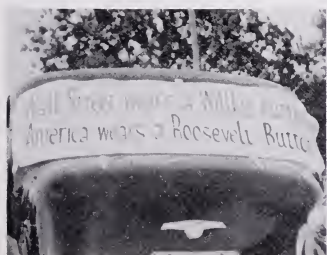
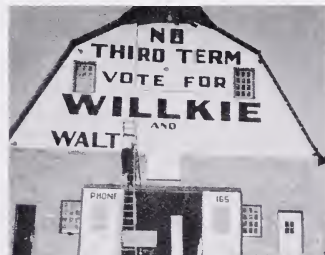
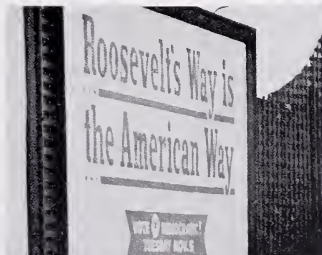
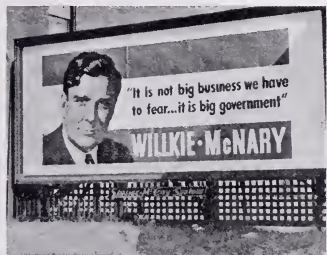
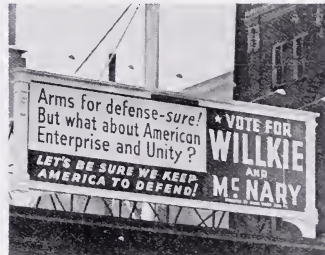
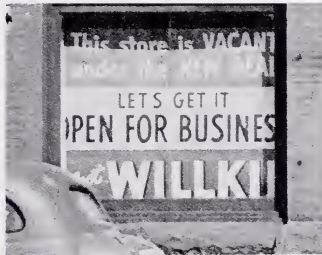
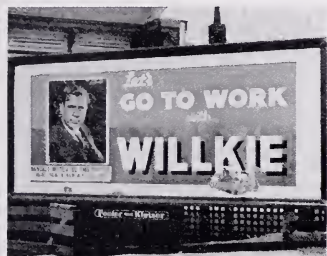
A: I don't want to make any predictions along those lines. It's very difficult, but I think in terms of the whole female movement in this country, women are very organizationally conscious. They are the ones that organize successful drives and campaigns of all kinds in this country. I think that they are going to get to the point where the public is going to accept it. The political thing is to get organized in a very effective way, to elect a woman president of this country. I see that coming. I don't want to predict any particular date, because things change from time to time, but so long as the women's movement continues to escalate, there's no doubt about it that we will have a woman president.

Q: The NAACP has recently come out against bussing. How do you feel about their decision?

A: You can't say that the NAACP has come out against bussing in a vacuum. I think that that's an issue that needs to be discussed in terms of a kind of realistic setting. People do not bus children because they want to bus children. People are bussing because they want the opportunity that bussing their children will offer. Once these children are bussed to certain schools, they get the skills that help them to function in a very highly automated society, and since the children in many instances are black and other minority children, and do not have the kind of curriculum and programs in their own schools, it is necessary to use an artificial instrument, and the Supreme Court has said that bussing is an artificial instrument. We do have to speak of artificial instruments in a democratic society that does not yet practice the espousal of equalitarian principles.★

SIGNS OF THE TIME:

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1940



THE PEPPER YEARS

By Phillip M. Pollock

In his 1987 autobiography, *Pepper, Eyewitness to a Century*, Claude Pepper stated that he was "a New Dealer before there ever was a New Deal." This, in itself, could be the reason some people waiver on their feelings about one of the country's most enduring politicians. Those who really knew the man, however, feel as former Florida Supreme Court Justice B.K. Roberts does, in stating that Pepper "was a natural born liberal and one of the greatest speakers of this century."

Certainly, much of Claude Pepper's career was spent championing the causes of the poor and elderly, possibly due, in part, to his upbringing on a small Alabama farm. There, at the age of thirteen in the year 1913, Pepper was said to have written the prophetic words, "Claude Pepper, United States Senator." Much later, at Harvard Law School, fellow students and teachers alike referred to him as "Senator."

Though he did not realize the U.S. Senate ambitions until 1936, he carefully fashioned his political career on the local level prior to this time. Pepper served as a Democratic Committeeman, promoting the candidacy of Al Smith in 1928, and one year later ran for a seat in the Florida House of Representatives. Cattle dipping was the issue Pepper rallied behind. It was a topic local Taylor County, Florida farmers were very concerned with and one on which his opponent, State Representative W.T. Hendry, failed to register a vote. Pepper noted this when he spoke before large crowds, pointing to Hendry's oversight on an issue his constituency regarded as pivotal. Pepper had found his opponent's weakness and it allowed him to win the election.

In 1930, however, the fickle nature of Florida politics intruded. The ease with which he won his first Florida House of Representatives election was matched only by the difficulties he suffered in 1930, trying to retain it. Central to his problems was his first real stand on civil rights, that stemmed from the election of a Black U.S. House of Representatives member from Illinois. Certainly this was a dilemma that southern states would not face for years to come, and when Mrs. Hoover invited all the wives of Congressmen to a White House tea, her action was condemned by the Florida Legislature. They felt that the First Lady's action weakened the tradition of segregation, endangering the concept of White supremacy in the South, and articulated their position in the form of a Resolution. Pepper was one of only thirteen Legislators who voted against the Resolution. This and the strong candidacy of his opponent, the highly regarded Alton Wentworth, signaled defeat for Pepper in 1930.

The loss of his House seat forced Pepper into private practice where he formed many valuable friendships. The people he aligned himself with were caught up in the enthusiasm emanating from Roosevelt's New Deal. They were energetic and didn't seem to be phased in the least when Pepper announced that he was "giving some thought to running" for the U.S. Senate in 1934.

It was thought that Park Trammell, the state's junior Senator, was tired and unproductive. Therefore, someone with Pepper's political daring and effective use of speech met with high approval from many voters who felt that, indeed, "Park had been there for awhile."

Claude Pepper ignored his own relative inexperience and began conducting a highly organized shoestring campaign that was in high gear, although Trammell claimed that he had never even heard of Pepper. When a runoff election was forced in the primary, Park Trammell quickly did some homework. He focused primarily on the Resolution issue that hurt Pepper in his House loss to Wentworth four years earlier. Trammell forces issued flyers that outlined Pepper's stand on the Resolution and boldly announced that Pepper had voted against it. The Resolution issue worked its magic a second time, for when all the votes were counted, Trammell had eked out a narrow victory. Later, vote totals showed that Trammell's winning margin was made up solely by Ybor City's "hot vote." This was a technique utilized by monied interests who paid poll taxes indigent minorities could otherwise not afford.

Thinking that contesting the election would deepen party enmities, Pepper congratulated Trammell on his victory, and became the instant favorite for the Governorship or a Senate seat, should one occur. The latter scenario took place much more rapidly than anyone imagined, as Trammell and Fletcher both died early in 1936. Senator Duncan Fletcher had represented the northern portion of the state, and voters felt, justifiably, that Pepper should fill that seat. His candidacy went unchallenged. "Claude Pepper, United States Senator" was no longer an ambition; it was a reality.

About this time, Pepper married Mildred Webster, later dubbed by many as the most beautiful woman in Washington. Howard Chandler Christy painted a likeness of her that could have graced any fashion magazine of the day. She accompanied Claude to Washington after a brief honeymoon in Havana, and together they began a long political adventure.

Having finished Fletcher's remaining two years in Congress, Pepper campaigned strenuously for a full six year Senate term in 1938. While few people realized it, Roosevelt's reign as President was still in its infancy, and Pepper began to forge a friendship with him that would serve both men throughout the remaining years Roosevelt was in office. Pepper claimed they were soul mates, sharing the philosophy of the New Deal. But much of the "newness" of the New Deal had worn off with some Senate members, who were mistakenly regarding Roosevelt as a lame duck President. Pepper would not reject programs Roosevelt had implemented, though, and he spoke eloquently about staying on the President's course.

State Representative Mark Wilcox and former Florida Governor Scholtz came out in opposition to Pepper in 1938, setting up a classic conservative versus liberal Senate

race. Pepper supported the wage and hour bill which infuriated business interests, who Pepper claimed, "never forgave" him. Pepper was the only southern Senator favoring such a bill, and Time magazine pictured a campaigning Pepper on its cover, calling him "Florida's Fighting Cock, A Whitehouse Weathervane." The conclusion in the Time story was that if a southern Senator could win by campaigning on such an issue, it would be a mandate for the President's programs.

Pepper sought the endorsement of the President throughout the election, but settled for support from his son, Jimmy, when it was made clear that the President did not want to get involved in Florida politics. It was support enough; Pepper won handily. He was riding a great wave of support in the state of Florida with "Pepper for President" clubs springing up in Saint Augustine, West Palm Beach, and Wewahitchka. Claude Pepper quelled these lofty schemes, contenting himself with standing by the President's side during the difficult times that loomed ahead for both Roosevelt and the Congress.

Roosevelt contemplated an unprecedented third term in office, while Germany continued to show its muscle away from home. As signs of U.S. involvement in the European conflict became more apparent, Roosevelt's resolve to run for a third term solidified. At the Democratic National Convention, James Farley and John Garner tried to wrest the party's nomination away from the President but were quieted by a resounding show of support for Roosevelt. Although the name of Claude Pepper was thrown out for consideration as Vice President, Henry Wallace of Iowa became the choice.

In the months that followed, the President and liberal members of the Senate, namely Pepper, worked vigorously to gain assistance for U.S. allies in their plight overseas. Pepper favored lending material support. By 1941 he had spearheaded the lend-lease legislation that the British press lauded as "awesome." However, dozens of women at home hung him in effigy on the Capitol steps; then they dragged his likeness to the Supreme Court building. The sash on the effigy read "Claude Benedict Arnold Pepper." Today, this effigy, now restored, hangs in the Claude and Mildred Pepper Library in Tallahassee, Florida.

As the 1944 Senate elections approached, Pepper again began to contemplate his political fortunes. Business interests, still feeling the sting from wage and hour

legislation, now had fresh fuel for an already burning fire. The President vetoed a tax bill with obvious benefits for the Florida lumber industry and called it a relief bill, "not for the needy, but for the greedy." When Pepper supported that veto, businessmen organized a fund to oust the Senator. Admittedly, the organization came somewhat late, but the \$62,000 raised would gain considerable interest by the 1950 Senate election. Business wouldn't forget that the money was in the bank.

Ollie Edmunds, a Duval County judge, became Pepper's opponent. Though not that well known, Edmunds was a solid adversary. Whereas Pepper had won the 1938 Senate election by some 100,000 votes, he was now victorious by only ten percent of that total. The difference was largely an indication that the Florida population was being transfigured, and not that Pepper was either changing or becoming a weaker politician. Pepper was still as liberal as ever, but Florida's exploding population was becoming more conservative, padded by wealthy northeastern sun-seekers. "When people are doing well financially, they lose sight of those who are left out," noted Pepper in his autobiography.

In November, 1944 Franklin Roosevelt was returned to office for an unheard of fourth term. However, the constant strain of the Presidency and involvement in WWII took its toll, and he died in April, 1945. Those who thought Roosevelt would live out his fourth term, thereby negating his 1944 Vice Presidential choice, were rudely awakened. Truman was President.

Although Pepper made immediate overtures toward Truman, offering complete support, the two would never be as close, ideologically, as were Pepper and FDR. Their differences stemmed primarily from Pepper's continued support of Henry Wallace as Vice President in 1944 and, secondly, from Pepper's later failure to help in the passage of the Truman Doctrine.

Truman's popularity waned as the 1948 Presidential election approached, and new faces began to appear as potential candidates. The most interesting newcomer on the scene was General Dwight D. Eisenhower, though he was noncommittal regarding his party affiliation. Some talk surfaced about an Eisenhower / Pepper ticket, but once the General said he was not a contender under any circumstances, that talk fizzled.

For approximately two days, soon after Eisenhower's announcement, Pepper was courted as a Presidential candidate. This situation occurred when the party drew straws in an "anybody but Truman" move. Pepper soon realized that he did not have the delegate strength Truman had forged, and as a result, the Florida Senator pledged all his political backing to the President. Against great odds, Truman went on to gain the Democratic party nomination and win the Presidential election.

Truman certainly realized that Claude Pepper was not one of his most avid political admirers, and given the annoyance the Senator caused the President, there is still little basis for information that surfaced some 33 years later. In a 1983 Time magazine interview, George Smathers claimed that Truman told him he wanted "someone to beat that son of a bitch, Claude Pepper," in the 1950 Senate election. Perhaps this was what Smathers wanted the



Claude Pepper on the Campaign Trail - 1930's



Local Journalist at Pepper Rally

public to think, or maybe Harry Truman was, indeed, living up to his no-holds-barred reputation. It is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions, other than to say that the 1950 election, in Pepper's words, was a "scurrilous" affair.

The 1950 Senate race between incumbent Claude Pepper and U.S. House of Representatives challenger George Smathers promised to be Pepper's most difficult Senate challenge. Aside from basic political issues, Pepper faced something over which he had absolutely no control — appearance. An Atlanta newspaper account said Smathers had enough sex appeal to cause Gregory Peck and similar Hollywood stars "to feel like masculine hags." The upshot of this was that Smathers could attract women's votes that the Senator could not.

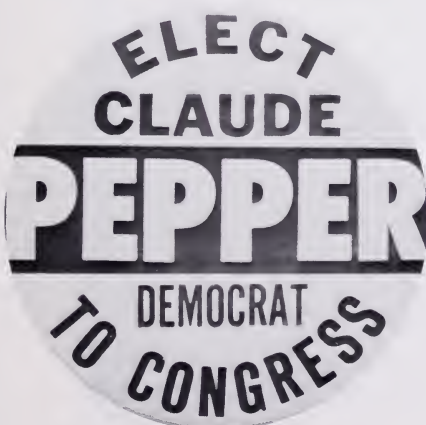
Looks alone would not win the election, however. Smathers also had credentials. In his first House of Representatives term he achieved the difficult and unusual honor of being placed on the Foreign Affairs Committee. Smathers, too, had the backing of influentially positioned alumni from the University of Florida, the Florida university at the time. Finally, George Smathers had the enviable distinction of being a newcomer, while Pepper was thought to be old hat.

In January 1950, Smathers announced, "Florida will not allow herself to become entangled in the spiraling spiderweb of the red network." Thus began a series of statements and accusations that Pepper would be ill equipped to fight. Smathers remarks were timely, since the early election year stage was set by the Alger Hiss affair and by a charge from Senator Joseph McCarthy that the State Department harbored 57 Communists. It was a time when officials seeking office were required to have records unblemished by any taint of Communism. Smathers noted that more than just Pepper's face flushed with a red hue, and as a result, Pepper was forced to spend far too much time defending his honor and too little time campaigning on real issues.

Basic to the Smathers attack was a forty-nine page booklet entitled, "The Red Record of Senator Claude Pepper," a document that was published by the Smathers camp. The "Red Record" contained photos of Pepper with Henry Wallace and Paul Robeson, and it emphasized that Pepper had spoken to groups such as the American-Soviet Friendship Council and the American Slav Congress. It was no secret that Pepper had encouraged peaceful accord with, and made positive statements about, Russia and Stalin. In fact, shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, negative FBI information surfaced because Pepper had spoken highly of the Soviets. "He likes Joe and Joe likes him," was the way Smathers summarized it. Pepper responded by saying that he was red in two ways, "I have a red nose and red American blood."

Consistent with Pepper's support of liberal public policies, the Senator favored government sponsored health programs, especially health insurance through the Social Security system. After considerable discussion with the Florida Medical Association regarding the proposed health insurance program, Pepper purportedly became so disillusioned with the Association's lack of interest that he claimed that he just didn't care about their 2,000 odd votes. Doctors and other medical people, as a result of his rebuke, organized an efficient phone and mail campaign that undoubtedly hurt Pepper. Smathers put verbal icing on the cake by saying that Florida, under Pepper's guidance, was paving the way for Socialism in this country.

The "Red Record" was only part of the 1950 smear campaign facing Claude Pepper. Civil rights issues confronting southern office seekers became a major dilemma. Pepper, however, did not back away from his stand on equality, though he still encouraged social segregation. He welcomed opportunities to speak to large crowds that he knew would include both Black people and photographers, whereas Smathers shunned chances to speak under such circumstances. Pepper greeted his audiences, shaking hands with everyone and afterward was pictured



This Policy of PEACE,
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for the PEOPLE
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May 2, 1950
for an additional six years

Vote on that Date to Return



TO THE UNITED
STATES SENATE
PULL LEVER 6A

with a Black man in the "Red Record." Later it was learned that a Black Miamian was offered \$25 to be seen shaking hands with the Senator.

In May of 1950, voters went to the polls, and for the first time in Florida history, an incumbent U.S. Senator was defeated. Smathers won the election by nearly 70,000 votes. Civil rights issues and the charges of Communism against Pepper contributed to his defeat, but Truman's lack of involvement in this highly contested Senate race was also a factor. Claude Pepper continued to be a New Dealer in 1950. By then, though, it had become a dead issue for many voters.

Pepper tried to regain a Senate seat in 1958 but ran against veteran Senator Spessard Holland and lost. He bounced back quickly, however, and at 62 years of age in 1962 was elected to fill a newly created Dade County (Miami Beach) Congressional seat. This was the first of 13 consecutive House victories Pepper would celebrate. During his tenure, he made a continuing commitment to support the elderly through Medicaid and Medicare. In 1978 his bill eliminating mandatory retirement helped to ease the age discrimination problem many elderly people confronted.

In the last two years of his life, while continuing to assist others, Pepper faced his own mortality. Finally, a struggle to overcome skin cancer was lost; Claude Denson Pepper died May 30, 1989. After his body lay in state in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda, Pepper was buried beside his wife in Tallahassee.

HERE IS THE TRUTH

HERE ARE THE FACTS

HERE IS THE EVIDENCE

**A DOCUMENTED CASE HISTORY
FROM OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT RECORDS
AND ORIGINAL COMMUNIST DOCUMENTS**

Smathers Campaign Brochure and "Telegram"

CAPABLE	SMATHERS-GRAM	OUTSTANDING
• ASSISTANT U.S. ATTORNEY, 1939 • WORLD WAR II VETERAN - NAVAL • SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR THE PROSECUTION OF THE ROSENBERG CASE • PARTNER U.S. CONGRESSIONAL LAW OFFICE, 1946-1950 • A HOUSE VOICE FOR THE AGING COMMUNITY	VETERAN WORLD WAR II VETERAN CONGRESSMAN	• GRADUATE OF HARVARD AND UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO • BENEVOLENT SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION • NATIONAL BOARD OF THE OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF YOUTHWORK, 1946-1950 • NAMED AS THE OUTSTANDING FLORIDIAN OF YOUTHWORK, 1946 • NAMED TO THE NATIONAL BOARD OF YOUTHWORK, 1946 • NAMED TO THE NATIONAL BOARD OF YOUTHWORK, 1946

AMY DAVIS
43 NW 12 ST
MIAMI, FLA.

WE EARNESTLY SOLICIT YOUR SUPPORT FOR GEORGE SMATHERS IN TUESDAY'S PRIMARY. YOUR VOTE FOR GEORGE SMATHERS AS DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR IS A VOTE FOR DYNAMIC AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. IN THESE DANGEROUS DAYS OF ATOMIC POWER, WE CANNOT AFFORD TO RETURN TO THE SENATE A MAN WHO HAS DEFENDED STALIN, SPOKE OUT FOR FELLOW TRAVELLERS, AND ECHOED THE BELIEFS OF COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS. GEORGE SMATHERS WILL MAKE THE TRUE VOICE OF FLORIDA HEARD IN THE U.S. SENATE. GEORGE SMATHERS IS FOR ALL THE PEOPLE, WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR FOR ANY ONE GROUP OVER ALL OTHERS. GEORGE SMATHERS IS FOR A SOUND MONEY POLICY. HE IS AGAINST DEFICIT SPENDING IN TIME OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY. GEORGE SMATHERS IS A LIBERAL, NOT A RADICAL. HE IS AN ABLE, AGGRESSIVE, EXPERIENCED LEGISLATOR. GEORGE SMATHERS IS A DADE COUNTY MAN. YOUR VOTE TUESDAY FOR GEORGE SMATHERS AS CANDIDATE FOR U.S. SENATOR IS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO YOUR COUNTRY, TO FLORIDA, AND TO YOURSELF.

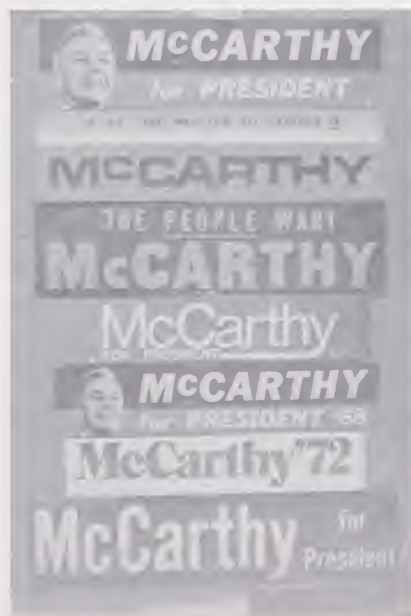
DADE COUNTY SMATHERS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE



APIC Member James Delaney with Claude Pepper and Barbara Cary, Miami 1987

The Mildred and Claude Pepper Library, on the campus of Florida State University in Tallahassee, Florida, allows the memory of the Senator to live on. It is open to the public throughout the week for researchers and visitors and is housed in a restored university chapel. In addition to his personal library, Pepper's House and Senate offices are recreated in exact replica, complete with fixtures from his Washington offices. The hundreds of original photographs that cover the oversized floor to ceiling space, give testament to the great number of diverse personalities Pepper touched in his life. Looking at all these people: scientists, movie stars, philosophers, and other politicians, the visitor truly gets a sense of being with Claude Pepper as an eyewitness to a century.

The author would like to thank the Florida State Archives, the State Library of Florida, and the Mildred and Claude Pepper Library for use of materials that supplement this feature. Also, APIC members Mo Wenzel, James Delaney, and Richard Rector made valuable contributions. Two books referred to frequently for this feature are *Pepper, Eyewitness To A Century*, by Claude Denson Pepper with Hays Gory, and *The Senatorial Career of Claude D. Pepper*, by Alexander Rudolph Stoesen.★



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